



Brown, M. D., & Lanci, G. (2016). Football and Urban Expansion in São Paulo, Brazil, 1880-1920. *Sport in History*, 36(2), 162-189.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17460263.2015.1129646>

Peer reviewed version

Link to published version (if available):
[10.1080/17460263.2015.1129646](https://doi.org/10.1080/17460263.2015.1129646)

[Link to publication record in Explore Bristol Research](#)
PDF-document

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in *Sport in History* on 24/02/2016, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17460263.2015.1129646>.

University of Bristol - Explore Bristol Research

General rights

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite only the published version using the reference above. Full terms of use are available:
<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/research-policy/pure/user-guides/ebr-terms/>

Football and Urban Expansion in São Paulo, Brazil, 1880-1920

Abstract: 115 words

Football is central to Brazilian society and its way of imagining itself and its position in the world.

Existing accounts of the origins of football in Brazil in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries tend towards mono-causal explanations, highlighting the role of British pioneers and Brazilian enthusiasm for the game. This article argues for a multi-causal explanation, using a mixed methodology of archival research in Brazil and the UK, combined with spatial analysis through the development of GIS maps. Building upon the existing interpretations, it shows how important the historical contexts of dynamics of urban expansion and transport infrastructure development – both with considerable British influence – were to the establishment of football as Brazil's national sport.

Football is central to Brazilian society and its way of imagining itself and its position in the world.ⁱ Existing accounts of the origins of football in Brazil tend towards mono-causal explanations, highlighting the role of British pioneers and Brazilian enthusiasm for the game. This article argues for a multi-causal explanation, using a mixed methodology of archival research in Brazil and the UK, combined with a spatial analysis through the development of GIS maps. Building upon existing interpretations regarding immigration and identity, it shows how important hitherto neglected factors, such as the particular dynamics of urban expansion and transport infrastructure development, were to the establishment of football as Brazil's national sport. The new findings do not, however, imply that British influence was negligible. British planners and engineers were significant in shaping the city of São Paulo so that there was space for all the new arrivals – including football.

Brazilian society had developed in the nineteenth-century beneath 'the long shadow of empire', even after independence from Portuguese colonial rule in 1822. It was British pressure that eventually secured the Brazilian abolition of the slave trade in 1850, for example.ⁱⁱ From mid-century the boom in coffee consumption in Europe and North America catalysed massive commercial expansion of towns located between coffee-producing areas and their ports. The institution and practice of using Africans and their descendants as slaves persisted until 1888. The principal point of exchange for coffee was São Paulo, which sat at the intersection of routes from the interior to the Atlantic port of Santos. Migrant labour, both from within Brazil and from Europe, flocked to São Paulo state in search of land and an improved quality of life. With them came railway investors, speculators, engineers and labourers, to construct and run the transport infrastructure which would facilitate profitable exports to Brazil's markets and, they believed bring wealth, modernity and civilization to *Paulistas*, the residents of São Paulo, and other Brazilians. As Map 1 clearly demonstrates, the growth of São Paulo in this period was rapid.

FIGURE 1: MAP 1: Urban expansion – São Paulo, 1893 - 1924

Historians of Brazil refer to the period 1889-1930 as the ‘Old Republic’ to distinguish it from the independent empire (1822-1889) that preceded it, and the New State (1930/37-1945) that came after. Significant continuities have been traced, of course, particularly with regard to the colonial hierarchies of race and class, which survived independence and persisted into a new era in which discourses of national identity and citizenship gained new prominence.ⁱⁱⁱ During the Old Republic the city and state of São Paulo became the commercial and industrial centre of Brazil, bringing it into competition and conflict with the political and cultural capital, Rio de Janeiro. Popular cultures such as music and sport, particularly football, began to provide arenas in which marginalized peoples, especially Afro-Brazilians, could enter the national consciousness with much greater freedom than in political or economic realms.^{iv} Rapid urbanization, mass immigration, the steady growth of nationalism and the embrace of football by popular groups were intertwined processes in São Paulo during the Old Republic.

The Atlantic seaboard of South America was catapulted into processes of globalisation at the end of the nineteenth century by the rapid development of transatlantic steamship technology and the spread of railways, which dramatically reduced the time-distance between South American producers and the major European markets. This ‘shrinking’ of time and distance allowed South American elites on the Atlantic seaboard to believe that they were becoming culturally closer to Europe, and in practical terms it enabled much easier and cheaper transatlantic travel. Europeans could now visit South America for short trips rather than long tours – as did the visiting Corinthians in 1910 and 1913 – and South Americans could travel to Europe for short studying, commercial or pleasure trips – as did many of the people identified by sports historians as the ‘founders of football’ on the continent.^v

Their more intimate knowledge of Europe enabled South American elites to pay careful attention to European models as they planned and developed their cities. ‘Modernity’ was self-consciously adapted to Latin American realities, with differing degrees of hybridity, emulation and criticism dependent on local circumstances.^{vi} Urban cultures and styles from abroad were often

embraced by elites. This outward-looking urbanism took place at a time of mass immigration, and within an economic framework heavily weighted towards Great Britain, still sometimes described as Britain's 'informal empire' in South America.^{vii} This article builds on preliminary studies of the British role in Latin American urbanization, such as the work of Raul Garcia Heras for Buenos Aires, and shows how sport was central to the ways cities expanded to cater to their new residents.^{viii}

This article draws on historiographies that seldom speak to one another. If we dig down into the urban, cultural and social history of São Paulo we unearth historical processes that challenge assumptions about the origins of football in South America.^{ix} Our approach draws on 'global history', in that we follow the example set by Matthew Taylor and Paul Dietschy to locate the local origins of sports within global networks that overlapped with, but were not defined by, imperial reconfigurations. The development of global sport is one area among many which, by emphasising the agency of Latin America in global processes, can redress the balance in the historiography which tends to place the region in the position of periphery, margin or victim.^x Our data relating to the links between urban space and football have been extracted from collections located on both sides of the Atlantic: in the newspaper collections of São Paulo state library, in the manuscript collections of the Biblioteca Mario de Andrade (São Paulo), the National Football Museum (Glasgow), in the National Archives (Kew), and in the J. & P. Coats papers held at Glasgow University Library. We also draw on the memoirs of U.S., French and British travellers, and secondary literature on the urban development of São Paulo. The methodology of the research has combined this empirical research in archives with innovation in GIS (Geographical Information Systems) mapping techniques, overlaying research data upon historical maps (**presented in Maps 1-5**). This hybrid methodology allows us to illustrate changes in urban space and its relation to sport, and it enables us to describe new ways of experiencing the city that emerged through urbanisation and sporting innovation.^{xi} The maps facilitate analysis of the multi-causal nature of the origins of football, and the role played by industrialisation, capital, empire and urban expansion. In particular, they enable us to see clearly for the first time the ways in which the provision of spaces for housing and

leisure were intimately linked to pre-existing topographies and patterns of landownership that were being transformed by investors linked to the boom in coffee exports.

Early Brazilian football

Historians understand very little about the historical development of sports clubs in South America and their ‘unfolding in relation to the urban setting in which they originated, spread and morphed’, but they have begun to realise that it is important to establish the consequences of those relationships.^{xii} Across the continent, variant colonial and industrial legacies shaped the spaces available for organised play in the late nineteenth-century. Sometimes people had to travel in order to find spaces to play, acting as a spur to transport infrastructure and the construction of suburbs close to parks or stadia. Clubs in Buenos Aires, at least, recognised their role in ‘city building’ as well as ‘citizenship building’.^{xiii}

Anglo-Brazilians such as Charles Miller, Thomas Donohue and Oscar Cox have long been regarded as amongst the founders or ‘fathers’ of football in Brazil, due to their roles in founding clubs and leagues in the 1890s. The development of football from a British-inspired, elite recreation carried out behind closed doors, into the popular, national sport embraced across ethnic and class divisions, is often held up for its ability to illustrate changes in Brazilian society between the abolition of slavery (1888) and the consolidation of a centralist, national government under Getulio Vargas (1930).^{xiv} A splurge of books published in 2014 to coincide with the FIFA World Cup hosted by Brazil has reinforced Gilberto Freyre’s vision of football as a window into Brazil’s soul and the history of its national identity.^{xv} Freyre saw football as a supreme example of transculturation in Brazil, where ‘Association Football cannot be separated from its British origins to be considered a Brazilian or Afro-Brazilian invention. What it is, in its current, triumphant Brazilian expression, is an Anglo-Afro-Brazilian game’.^{xvi}

A common assumption in much of the existing literature is that there was something magically simple and universal about football, as opposed to other recreational practises, which made its popularity in Brazil somehow inevitable. But the idea that football was an invention of Anglo-Brazilian elites was in

itself an invention of those elites, who – such as Charles Miller – were the ones who told and wrote the first histories of the game.^{xvii} In fact, we now know that before Miller’s return from England, football had been played in the 1890s in Brazilian social clubs, in schools and on grassed public areas in the city centres.^{xviii} In Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil’s southernmost state which borders Argentina and Uruguay, as Gilmar Mascarenhas has shown, international connections with the River Plate region were crucial to early sporting activities, as was the role of German migrants.^{xix}

In the 1900s and 1910s, however, as Kittleson observes, ‘the rapid expansion of the game put in doubt the social exclusivity that had been a hallmark of the so-called big soccer (*futebol grande*) of the elite clubs’ as a small soccer (*futebol pequeno*) scene was thriving away from the more exclusive venues. This was not a ‘trickle down’ effect from elites to the poor, but ‘rather, men and women turned it into a means for the assertion of identities – of class, ethnicity, race, neighbourhood’.^{xx} The period 1880-1920 was one of mass immigration and urbanization, and both processes were shaped – as was football – by contemporary concerns about order and progress (inscribed on the Brazilian flag from the late nineteenth century) and civilization. Investigation of the interrelated development of football and urban cultures can therefore help critique ‘the notion of the centrality of football as a unifying force’ along class, ethnic and national lines, in Taylor’s words.^{xxi} In Brazil, the creation of urban spaces for club football went hand in hand with often Eurocentric ideas about what a city should look like, and how its citizens should behave.

Early urban expansion and exclusive sports in São Paulo, 1850-1890

For Rio de Janeiro, Christopher Gaffney argues that it was the popularity of sport within the city which necessitated that ‘playing surfaces and dimensions became standardized and informal “grounds” slowly became “stadiums”’.^{xxii} Gaffney argues that the construction of stadiums may well have been intended – and often succeeded – as part of a civilizing, controlling process on the part of urban elites, but that it also created ‘other spaces of modernity’ which were more integrative than class-demarcated housing estates, for example.^{xxiii} There is no equivalent study of the role of sports in shaping urban

development in São Paulo during the Old Republic. Cristina Peixoto-Mehrtens' analysis of the 1930s and 1940s has shown the significant extent to which elites used the design and construction of the municipal Pacaembu stadium in order to create a modern, civilized nation which reflected their self-image as cosmopolitan, global citizens.^{xxiv}

In 1857, São Paulo town council began encouraging landowners to enclose their property with whitewashed, tiled plastered walls. Around 1870, iron railings appeared in São Paulo for the first time, 'setting the seal on the increasing tendency to enclose lands and to complete the occupation of particular areas'.^{xxv} The inauguration of the Santos – Jundiaí Railway in 1867 solidified São Paulo as the strategic hub of the hugely profitable coffee market. From the 1870s onwards, the 'explosive' growth of São Paulo, as demonstrated in Map 2 below, accentuated the political and social significance of the relationship between sport and public space.^{xxvi}

FIGURE 2: MAP 2: Urban Expansion – São Paulo, 1841-1881

The city administration run by Joao Teodoro (1872-75) spent half of São Paulo state's budget on urban improvements in the capital city.^{xxvii} The São Paulo built with *taipa* (mud walls) started to be replaced by a brick city and the original urban boundaries constrained by the city centre – or the *Triângulo* (the Triangle) - were pushed away, swallowing up rural farms.^{xxviii} New streets were opened, rivers were channelled and gas replaced kerosene lamps, attracting the coffee barons to establish their residences in the regenerated city centre rather than their estates or the suburbs. Elegant mansions were built on the newly-urbanised margins to the north-west of the old city centre, with signature designs commissioned from French and Italian architects. A good example is the residence of Veridiana Prado, built in 1884.^{xxix} She was a pioneer in the city's urban sports infrastructure, commissioning the construction of the first velodrome, on her own land, just to the side of the historical city centre. The *Velódromo da Consolação* - which was inaugurated in 1892 and was used for football from 1901 - was

aimed at promoting cycling and other sports within the populace as part of a wider, socially dominant discourse of improving public health and hygiene through exercise.^{xxx}

Policies concerning public recreation were neglected by the municipality and left for private developers like Verediana Prado to decide how, when and where to invest.^{xxxi} Open areas and gardens in the city remained a privilege for the wealthy few for most of the century.^{xxxii} In contrast to the lack of public spaces for recreation, by 1885 São Paulo had several private sporting establishments, including ‘a skating rink, hippodrome, some billiard halls, and several *jogos de bola*’. These recreational facilities followed the clear class-based spatial segregation of other enterprises in the city outlined by Gerald Greenfield.^{xxxiii} As São Paulo was self-consciously modernized as it grew, football – as Lincoln Allison argued - was adopted by elite urbanizers and modernizers to create public spaces for the hygienic disposal of physical energy.^{xxxiv} At the dawn of the twentieth century, during the administrations of Antonio Prado (1899-1910) and Raimundo Duprat (1910-1914) public spaces were embellished and new public parks and green areas developed in the city centre such as *Vale do Anhangabau*, *Várzea do Carmo* and *Praça da Republica*. The city and its football grew together.

The rapid expansion of city and sports 1890-1900

The early urban growth of São Paulo before 1890 had been shaped by elite desires for their own comfort, hygiene and profit.^{xxxv} The wealth generated by coffee exports after 1890 led directly to the increase of luxury mansions and commercial buildings in the city centre, which forced the working classes to either occupy dilapidated dwellings in the centre or to move away. Private urban development initiatives boomed, led by a wide network of people with common interests in business and social matters, involving Brazilians such as Veridiana Prado and foreigners such as the German entrepreneurs Victor Nothmann and Frederico Glette. These latter partners set a new standard in the real estate market in 1872 launching *Campos Eliseos* (a literal translation of Champs Elysees), a former cottage farm they transformed into a modern, urban district.^{xxxvi} Joaquim Eugenio de Lima followed their lead, acquired a substantial landholding, divided it into plots and in 1891 opened his *Avenida Paulista* development. As

Map 3 shows below, by the mid-1890s the Triangle of the historic centre now sat roughly equidistant between the public scrubland of the *Várzea do Carmo* and the new elite sporting complex of the *Velódromo da Consolação*. Rapid developments in urban transport infrastructure quickly moved the city's sporting centre of gravity west into *Consolação*, leaving the open fields to the east of the city to industrial units and non-elite football teams linked to working-class districts and factories.^{xxxvii} The inauguration of the *Viaduto do Cha* (tea bridge) in 1892 provided a straight link between the *Triângulo* and the district of *Consolação*. It revolutionised São Paulo's urban infrastructure and facilitated access to adjacent areas of *Campos Eliseos* and *Higienópolis*, where the wealthy chose to live and play.^{xxxviii}

FIGURE 3: MAP 3: The Triangle and Surroundings – São Paulo, 1893

Urban expansion was fuelled by extravagant financial speculation on land that was informed by a democratising, civilising vision for the future of the city. A small group of cosmopolitan entrepreneurs like Lima and Nothman, who were intimately linked to political circles and financial, commercial and construction businesses, were particularly influential. The persistence of the 1850 *Lei de Terras* (Land Property Law) meant that the regulation of claims to private land ownership was often an imprecise and unlawful process, with the law described by sympathetic commentators as 'flexible'.^{xxxix} Speculators – foreigners and Brazilians alike - exploited the ambiguities of the *Lei de Terras*.^{xl} Most of the urbanized land on the fringes of the old city was public property, occupied illegally.^{xli} Subsequent developments in sporting cultures cannot be understood without comprehension of these rapid changes in the patterns of the urban frontier. Sports began to move out of the older private clubs and into new public spaces opened up by fragmentary urbanization. Some elite sportsmen continued to favour the privacy and exclusivity of their clubs and associations, of course. Horseracing, known as *turf*, was first organised by Antonio Prado at the *Clube de Corridas* in 1875. But the principal protagonists who moved sports into public spaces were the members of the Sao Paulo Athletic Club.^{xlii}

The Sao Paulo Athletic Club (SPAC) was founded in 1876, though it likes to link its formal inauguration to 1888, symbolically to the day of the abolition of slavery in Brazil.^{xliii} Members consciously evoke the democratising, egalitarian nature of sport when thinking about their club's origins. In the 1890s, when Charles Miller returned from Hampshire to his home city, he found that all his old friends and relations were members of SPAC. Consumed with passion for football as much as cricket, which was SPAC's principal sport at the time, Miller set about cajoling and encouraging friends and acquaintances until he could organise a public football match on 14 April 1895 – between a team representing the *Companhia de Gás*, and a team from the London Bank and Sao Paulo Railway where he worked as a clerk. Rather than in the private club *Chacara Dulley*, where SPAC played cricket, the first football match was played on the public land of the *Várzea do Carmo*, the inner-city scrubland near the railway lines and new industrial units. From there, Miller was the driving force behind setting up the first Paulista Championship in 1902 – during which many matches were played in front of growing audiences at the *Velódromo da Consolação*– which Miller's team SPAC dominated for its first years.^{xliv} Miller's SPAC team-mates were, like him, Anglo-Brazilians or recent migrants to Brazil. They were middle-class clerks and engineers rather than aristocrats, often educated, like Miller, in private schools.^{xlv}

Football games were first reported in the São Paulo newspapers in the late 1890s. This incursion of football into public discourse was marked by its Anglo-Brazilian origins. The first translation of the rules of the Football Association into Brazilian Portuguese was published in São Paulo in 1905, but as our analysis of the main São Paulo Portuguese language newspaper *Correio Paulistano* between 1890 and 1939 demonstrates clearly, it was not until 1930 that the Portuguese term *futebol* outnumbered the English *football* in the pages of *Correio Paulistano*.^{xlvi}

Post 1900 patterns

The administration of Antonio da Silva Prado, the first mayor of São Paulo (1899-1911), son of sporting patron and pioneering urbanist Veridiana Prado, encouraged urban development in order to achieve its goals of order, progress and hygiene. He was an enthusiastic sportsman, playing football, cycling and

racing motor cars throughout his administration. Prado's family had made its fortune from coffee exports and in his private affairs he expanded his wealth through investments in coffee farms, railways, export businesses, industry and commerce.^{xlvi}

Between 1885 and 1913, the population of São Paulo rose from 47,000 to well over 300,000.^{xlvi} The construction of new suburbs and transport infrastructure took place at the same time as regeneration of the city centre, inspired by the model of Haussmann's redevelopment of Paris. Modern new garden suburbs replaced farms rather than slums. New legislation and infrastructure works were proposed to provide a healthier, more hygienic environment. The garden city model became preeminent in the construction of the new, modern suburbs built close to the old centre. In his public life, mayor Prado created a powerful agency – the *Serviços de Obras Municipais* (Municipal Works Department) – which was tasked with reshaping the urban landscape. Sport was always at the forefront of his mind. He appointed a Portuguese engineer, Victor da Silva Freire, to lead the urban revolution. Freire (who served until 1926) and Prado saw urban regeneration, physical transformation and speculative suburbanization as the means towards financial prosperity.^{xlvi} They tailored their plans according to the demands of international capital, which arrived in increasing waves after 1900, and whose investments in São Paulo were dominated by British finance.¹ A central part of their plan was transport infrastructure linked to sporting and recreation grounds.

Prado and Freire handed over monopoly privileges in return for favours and some exemptions from state control to the Canadian-owned Sao Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Company (popularly known as Light) and the British-owned Sao Paulo Gas Company. The Light and Gas companies took on electrified public transport infrastructure as well as gas lighting and were central to bringing modern amenities to the city.^{li} Gas employees played in Charles Miller's first football match in 1895. The Light company built São Paulo's first electric tram lines from 1899, which were immediately used by football players and supporters to get to grounds and parks. Map 4, below, shows the extent to which the principal sporting venues of the period 1900-1910 were situated at key axes of the new tram network.

FIGURE 4: MAP 4: Football Clubs and Grounds – Sao Paulo, 1905

The potential of football as a popular spectacle – and therefore a lucrative business – became most evident after the establishment of Campeonato Paulista in 1902. Tickets for SPAC matches at the *Velódromo* were initially advertised as ‘free for families, representatives of the press and decently dressed people’. Those who did not fall into those categories probably paid an entrance fee.^{lii} This was a multi-sports venue as well as a space for peace and relaxation: it comprised gymnastics equipment, an ice rink, a shooting stand, an athletics field, tennis courts and football pitches. The *Parque Antarctica* also opened in 1902, quickly becoming one of the most significant green areas in the city; it also included gardens, footpaths, lakes and fountains, kiosks, all placed in a carefully designed space on a European style that resembled the Parisian ‘Bois des Vincennes’ and Bois de Boulogne’, as Reis Filho commented. Extra seating and shading was added for football crowds in 1903 in order, as *Correio Paulistano* inferred, ‘that female spectators might not be dissuaded from attending through lack of comfort’.^{liii} The Antarctica Company doubly profited from games it hosted at the *Parque Antarctica*, as it sold its own beer as well as renting out the space. (The opportunities for profit for sporting entrepreneurs entrenched the tendency towards private ownership of stadia in São Paulo, which were amended only by the public construction of the municipal *Pacaembu* stadium in 1940.^{liv}) The philanthropic gesture of the Antarctica beer company, in hosting football matches and providing space for public recreation, was part of an established company policy to associate itself with modern lifestyle practices.

Thanks to Prado’s support and the Light Company’s construction of the infrastructure, the first electric trams in São Paulo started to operate in May 1900. The line *Se - Barra Funda* linked the city centre to the Northwest districts, where mayor Prado and his associates lived; the second tramline, inaugurated in the same year, connected the city centre to *Higienópolis*, where Veridiana Prado lived and had established her sporting complex.^{lv} The tramline network was rapidly extended and by the end of 1901 fifteen lines were in operation, the longest one being the *Se-Penha*, reaching almost ten kilometres.^{lvi}

Businessmen could get quickly and easily in to the city centre; footballers could get speedily to the *Parque Antarctica* and the *Velódromo*.

Between 1899 and 1910, the electric tram was the prime mover in shaping the directions that land speculation and sports infrastructure took as São Paulo grew.^{lvii} As Map 4 shows, the first tramlines served wealthy residents and their business interests, and the sports grounds that accompanied them were given a significant catalyst to act as axes of sporting development. When the São Paulo Football League published its fixtures for the 1905 season, it included a clear listing of tram routes and tram prices to ensure that players and spectators used the infrastructure to reach the grounds.^{lviii} Crucially, these developments were in place before automobiles began to take over the city's streets in the 1920s.^{lix} In 1903 there were only 16 cars in the city of São Paulo.^{lx} The inauguration of tramlines made the new sport grounds accessible to a much greater section of society than private club members had expected. The social exclusivity of the development of early sports grounds such as the *Velódromo da Consolação* therefore entered into tension with the democratising, participatory meanings which became attached to football throughout the 1900s. When elites desired to be separated from popular groups as they went about their leisure activities, they were most successful when they retreated to play on country estates. When played within the city limits, it was precisely because they were *not* concerned about limiting engagement with these new practises. Subsequent improvements in transport infrastructure meant that sports grounds that had previously been havens of exclusivity were incorporated into the urban area. This was the case of the *Chacara Dulley* (home to SPAC cricket and football matches) between 1899 and 1906, and the *Chacara Witte* (home to the Germania and Internacional clubs) in the same period.^{lxi}

Ever since Charles Miller's first match in 1895, non-official football was played in the public and liminal space of the *Várzea do Carmo*, on the floodplains of *Tamanduatei* river.^{lxii} The burst of growth of factories in São Paulo from 1900 then created new marginal public urban spaces nearby where informal pickup games were improvised.^{lxiii} Local government under Antonio Prado made a concerted effort to control and organise the spaces where football was played. In 1904 Prado signed Act 702, establishing

regulations for football grounds, stipulating a minimum distance of 20m from houses, gardens, private properties, streets or squares, and requiring that fences should run around the pitch. Streapo has argued that the spatial division of football in the early 1900s drew on strict class barriers. The middle- and upper classes played in the enclosed spaces of the *Chacara Dulley*, and in the *Velódromo da Consolação*, whilst the working-class played in the grass plains of the *Várzea do Carmo*. Approaching the subject through the history of urbanisation suggests a more complicated picture.^{lxiv}

The principal grounds used for official club football in the early 1900s were private spaces with varying potential for public access. The playground of elite Mackenzie College and the playing field of elite Sao Paulo Athletic Club were sometimes used, but the majority of matches were played at the *Velódromo* and *Parque Antarctica*. They were favoured as official grounds for the all the games of Liga Paulista, because they were easily accessible travelling on the new trams. By 1904, when the *Annuário Comercial do estado de S. Paulo* listed eight pages of sports clubs in the city, there was great competition for playing space.^{lxv} There were fifty-nine football clubs and three each for fencing and gymnastics, as well as clubs for horse-racing, pigeon-fancying, swimming and rowing. Only nineteen of the fifty-nine football clubs listed a clubhouse (*sede*), which are all presented on Map 4. The directors and officeholders of those clubs were drawn from the political and economic elite. This group also overlapped heavily (there is only one exception) with those who listed Anglo-Saxon or German names amongst their directors. This suggests a possible correlation between British or German involvement in sports clubs, and ground ownership. It shows that the majority of sports clubs were nomadic wanderers, reliant on ground-sharing, renting or borrowing in order to practice, play and entertain.

The geographical dispersal of clubs that did have their own grounds, as clearly illustrated in Map 4, speaks to the shape and speed of urbanization, as groups sought out green and brown spaces on the edges of the shifting urban frontiers where they could play. There is also a discernible correlation between land occupation, institutionality of clubs, and foreign (largely British and German) involvement, at least up to 1904, revealing significant continuity with the largely unregulated process of elite-led urban expansion of the pre-1890 period. Football clubs were seldom free-standing entities but rather they were

linked to pre-existing clubs or sites. These were sometimes sporting (velodromes, gyms, athletics clubs), educational (schools and seminaries), industrial (the railway) or district clubs. We might also note the relative absence of organized religion providing spaces for sport in São Paulo, compared to its central role in the origins of football clubs elsewhere such as England's Aston Villa or Scotland's Hibernians, either as patron of clubs or as landowner.^{lxvi} Football clubs emerged with, and were one aspect of, the links between landownership and finance during the coffee boom. But though they may have had origins in the social elite, many of them were ephemeral. In this sense they reflected and were subsequently shaped by the mobility and creativity of the newly-arriving immigrant populations that would be so important in the creation of Brazil's footballing cultures in the next decades.^{lxvii}

Post 1911: conflict and tensions

By the end of Prado's mayoralty in 1911, two distinct urban landscapes had emerged, whose dividing lines were the *Tamanduatei* river and the São Paulo Railway. Contemporaries recognised an 'inside' containing the city centre, the new elite garden suburb neighbourhoods, and most of the institutional sports grounds. On the 'outside' were the streets, industrial areas and marginal wastelands where most of the poor lived and played their football. Map 4 demonstrates the marked geographical divisions, to the West and East of the main railway line, that developed in these years in São Paulo's sporting landscape.

After 1911, the infrastructure changes of 1900-1910 brought significant improvements to public space and sanitation. They also exacerbated social tensions because they accentuated the spatial division between wealthy and poor areas. The influence of British planners was considerable in the development of new neighbourhoods, which paid detailed attention to designing public spaces that would be attractive for play and outdoor exercise. These neighbourhoods developed through the occupation of lower-lying lands around the *Pinheiros* river, proposed and enabled by *Companhia City* (known as Cia City) for the Alto de *Pinheiros* development after 1910, and the 'bairros jardim': *Jardim Paulista*, *Jardim America* and *Jardim Europa*.^{lxviii} Cia City took the Garden City model first proposed by Ebenezer Howard (1850-

1929) in his book *Garden-cities for tomorrow* (1902) and adapted it to São Paulo's rapidly evolving urban needs. Two of Howard's collaborators, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, became consultants for Cia City. Parker, whose previous job was redesigning the city centre in Porto, Portugal, lived in São Paulo between 1917 and 1919, having intended to stay for just six weeks. He collaborated on the design of the *Jardim America* and *Alto da Lapa* suburbs. Parker shaped the public space around the construction of a new sports club, Club Athletico Paulista. He also sketched out designs for the first municipal football stadium, at the centre of a new development, *Pacembu*, though this was not completed until long after his departure.^{lxix}

FIGURE 5: MAP 5: Neighbourhoods and Industries – São Paulo, 1916

Even while new public spaces for sport were being conceived, designed and constructed, mass immigration energized the competition for urban space. New grounds harked back to a romanticized rural past while also evoking a modernist future. The aesthetic considerations which made the *Pinheiros* desirable for garden city planners were the same that seduced the new sportsmen, looking to site their sporting competitions against natural backdrops that touched the ideas of British public schools where sports' mythical origins were located, an oasis of leisure with a rural backdrop of trees and hills within the urban development.^{lxx} In the 1910s São Paulo's sports grounds were still rudimentary affairs compared to what they later became, although surviving photographs of the *Velódromo da Consolação* show it to be surrounded by trees and grass banks for spectators.^{lxxi}

There was increasing pressure upon public spaces as sites for recreation as the population of the city grew. The attraction of cycling competitions on the open road – held since the 1890s - was diminished by the spread of trams after 1900 and, especially, automobiles after 1910.^{lxxii} Instead, São Paulo witnessed a craze for sports, including “*footing*”, which elites embraced both for social display as well as health.^{lxxiii} *Footing* was not football but *strolling*, a ‘chic’ combination of display and exercise,

described in *Correio Paulistano* as ‘elegant’, ‘animated’, ‘happy and original movement’ and other ‘good health pursuits’ such as skating and gymnastics.^{lxxiv}

Competition for public and playing space fed into ideological disputes about how best to behave in shared public spaces. As contemporary sources’ focus on sport as a performance of ‘elegance’ suggests, elite São Paulo perception about working-class involvement in sports was conflictive. Sometimes working-class people, especially immigrants, were viewed as rebellious anarchists inhabiting a chaotic city; sometimes they were praised as the hard-working force behind the construction of a modern metropolis.^{lxxv} When they played football, working-class people became especially and problematically visible.^{lxxvi} A good example is the Scottish Wanderers football team, which existed in São Paulo only between 1914 and 1917. Its brief history exemplified the tensions created by urbanization and global migration, and the entrepreneurial urge which lay behind São Paulo’s sporting culture in this period.

In 1907 the J. & P. Coats textile mill, based in Paisley, Scotland, decided to open a mill at *Ipiranga*, on land newly-connected to the centre of São Paulo via tramway.^{lxxvii} In 1912 the decision was taken to send experienced machinists to Brazil to get the operation established. Archie McLean was one of those selected. When he arrived in São Paulo he wrote back to his boss, Robert Steel, at the Anchor Thread Mills in Paisley, saying ‘I like Brazil all right but you would require a fortune to live here as everything is so expensive’.^{lxxviii} McLean and his co-workers lived in in *Ipiranga* and quickly formed a football team, which they called Scottish Wanderers. The team had some playing successes, and examination of the Scottish professional footballer registration records for the immediate years before their departure for Brazil suggests why: many of these migrant workers had already, like McLean, been playing professional football in Scotland before they travelled to São Paulo. This raises the intriguing possibility, unfortunately as yet unconfirmed by research in the company archives, that workers might have been explicitly selected to work in the São Paulo mill because of their football prowess, in order to promote the mill across the city.^{lxxix} Scottish Wanderers – who adopted the name because of their lack of a fixed home ground, like the 1872 FA Cup Winners Wanderers F.C, and their counterparts in

Wycombe (founded 1887) Valparaiso in Chile (founded 1892) and elsewhere – were repeatedly rebuked in the press for their ‘rough play’ and ‘rowdiness’, and several of their players, including McLean, were suspended or banned for acts of violence.^{lxxx} They expected to be paid for their performances, despite the clear rules on amateurism that operated in São Paulo (until 1933). In 1917 newspapers in Rio de Janeiro (perhaps looking to undermine some of the star *paulista* players) exposed Archie McLean and Bill Hopkins for receiving payments in brown envelopes to sign for Sports Club Americano.^{lxxxi} Numerous cases of shamateurism had already been alleged against São Paulo footballers during the early 1900s, including the centre-back Asbury, who received money for playing for CA Paulistano in 1910; the Bertini brothers who allegedly received salaries from SC Americano; and the centre-half Aquino who was caught with a suspect envelope.^{lxxxii} Analysis of the Scottish Wanderers reveals more of the precarious circumstances of most clubs in São Paulo, the murky undercurrents of *de facto* professionalism in the São Paulo football leagues, and the transnational connections and commercial interests that shaped the success, or otherwise, of the leading clubs.^{lxxxiii}

Competition for playing space, alongside covert professionalism, brought social conflicts into the open in the new urban landscapes post-1910. Clubs that had rented playing space found themselves forced to pay more, or move to less well-connected venues. Ownership of land and grounds continued to be disputed, drawing on the unregulated nature of urban expansion of the late nineteenth-century. Ownership of the *Velódromo*, whilst certainly private, was ambiguous; from 1901 the CA Paulistano charged other clubs to play there. Sport Club Germania were known to have rented the football pitch at the *Parque Antarctica* from the Companhia Antarctica Paulista from the park’s inauguration in 1902. In 1913 the Liga Paulista de Futebol accepted a proposal made by Sport Club Germania to rent out the *Parque Antarctica* for the same price that CA Paulistano charged for one single match in the velodrome. It was conflict over rent and ground ownership that led to the first rupture in the city’s official football scene: CA Paulistano left the Liga Paulista de Futebol and founded its own league, called the Associação Paulista de Sports Athléticos.^{lxxxiv}

Sports grounds were moved after 1910 in response to rapid population growth and commercial pressures. The types of moves that were possible followed routes shaped by topography as well as the investments made in the previous decade in transport infrastructure in particular directions out of the city centre.^{lxxxv} The rise and fall of coffee export prices meant that state revenues varied massively from year to year, and urban infrastructure developments continued to be promoted in uneven fashion. Very few sports clubs were able to maintain constant institutionality in these conditions, and many of the first clubs that appear on Map 4 for 1905 had folded by 1920.

Intense real estate speculation in central districts forced clubs to look for alternative sites in and beyond the emerging suburbs. CA Paulistano moved out of the velodrome and acquired land in *Jardim America* for its new premises in 1915, where their new establishment did not initially even feature a football ground, despite Barry Parker's original plans.^{lxxxvi} In 1916 a new club, Palestra Italia, started to rent a pitch at the *Parque Antarctica* for its games (in 1920 the club bought the property from the brewers Cia. Antarctica Paulista, and the club – known since 1942 - as Palmeiras played there until 2010). SC Germania established itself in *Chacara do Itaim* in 1920.^{lxxxvii} Only SPAC retained its central location by the velodrome.^{lxxxviii}

The competition for space and resources, demonstrated above by the semi-professionalism of the Scottish Wanderers, and the logistical moves made by major sports clubs after 1910, was also played out in the streets through the protests of organized labour about working conditions, most famously in the general strike of 1917.^{lxxxix} (Football matches were not disrupted by the strike, not even those played in *Parque Antarctica* within sight of the striking workers).^{xc} The year after the general strike, São Paulo was struck by the epidemic of Spanish influenza, killing over 5,000 people in October and November 1918. It was reported that the first cases were traced to an amateur football team visiting from Rio de Janeiro, staying at the Hotel D'Oeste, in the city centre.^{xci} Where the general strike failed, a public health crisis succeeded. The Paulista football championship was suspended for a month.^{xcii}

Conclusions

Previous interpretations of early Brazilian football, such as that of Robert Levine, have argued that '*futebol*'s chief significance has been its use by the elite to bolster official ideology and to channel social energy in ways compatible with prevailing social values'.^{xciii} The analysis presented here suggests that this top-down analysis can be strengthened by an understanding of the urban geography of these historical processes as 'part of a broader socio-economic tendency towards territoriality'.^{xciv} In the period 1880-1920, we have shown that it is less than clear that elites used football for explicit social ends. Instead, the growth of spaces for playing football responded to the massive growth in the urban population through internal migration and immigration; the rapid regeneration and urbanisation of the centre and its suburbs; and the consequent development of an electrified public transport system.

The GIS techniques adopted in the development of the maps presented here show for the first time how football places in São Paulo emerged when traffic was still limited before the 1920s, and when trams, not cars or buses, were the motors of urban expansion.^{xcv} The creation of new sporting cultures shaped the competition for urban space. Sport maintained the permeability of the frontier between public and private spaces even as fences were being erected and lands enclosed. In São Paulo, the process was not one of the 'exclusion' of the people, or the 'assimilation' of the working-class or migrants. The maps presented here illustrate how the development of sporting arenas and public transport systems at the same time facilitated the opening of a more porous public sphere than elsewhere in Brazil.^{xcvi} The ways in which spaces were created for physical competitive sport after the 1888 abolition of slavery had long-lasting legacies, as illustrated by the maps presented here. Because of these urban developments, football was able to become an activity within which a new vision of what Brazilian cities, and Brazilian identities, might be developed.^{xcvii} There was no cause-and-effect relationship between British sporting pioneers and Brazilian footballing success, but British investors, planners and footballers were all part of these swift social, cultural and urban changes.

Another Briton visited São Paulo for the first time in 1933. Peter Fleming, whose 'sport' was hunting rather than football, observed that 'here is the South America that matters, the South America of the future. ... the air is brisk; the streets clang; electric signs challenge the stars with hyperbole'.^{xcviii}

The rapid changes to the city of the past fifty years had indeed made the streets ‘clang’ when Fleming arrived; it was the sound of footballs as well as metal trams that defined modernity in turn of the century São Paulo. Football kept people of different social backgrounds within the same social space, and therefore was something to be welcomed as well as feared by elites. Football’s physicality, and the opportunities for physical contact between its practitioners, caused some anxiety for many Brazilians for whom slavery had existed within living memory. For others, the sport was admired for presenting and preserving, to use the much abused cliché, a rare level playing field upon which Brazilians of all backgrounds could compete. This helps to explain why football became the central motif of Brazilian national identity in the mid-twentieth century.

ⁱ The authors are grateful for the opportunity to acknowledge the research assistance of Bruno Jeuken Souza and Andre Feres. At LUDENS, the sports history research centre at the Universidade de São Paulo we thank William Maranhao and Flavio de Campos. We thank the librarians and archivists at the following institutions who advised and opened their collections to us: Arquivo Publico do Estado de São Paulo, Arquivo Histórico do Município de São Paulo, Biblioteca Mario de Andrade, British Council em São Paulo, Fundação Patrimônio Histórico da Energia de São Paulo, Museu do Futebol, São Paulo Atlético Clube – SPAC, Santos Atlético Clube – SAC, British Library, London Metropolitan Archives, The National Archives in Kew, Glasgow University Archive Service, the University of Bristol and the Scottish Football Museum. The following individuals have provided leads and observations which we are happy to acknowledge: Hannah Blackman, John Foot, David Wood, Mervyn Miller, John Mills, David Goldblatt and Richard McBrearty. The project received financial support from a British Academy Small Grant, which we gratefully acknowledge, and drew on the support of LUDENS and the University of Bristol Research Strategy Fund ‘Sport + Translation’ grant in 2013-14.

ⁱⁱ Gabriel B. Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, c.1770-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 372.

ⁱⁱⁱ Robert Levine, ‘Sport and Society: The Case of Brazilian Futebol’, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 17:2 (1980), 233-52.

^{iv} Micol Seigel, *Uneven encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

^v Dwayne R. Wisbeck and Robert M. Pike, *Communication and Empire: Media, Markets and Globalization, 1860-1930* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 68, 80; Aidan Hamilton, *An Entirely Different Game: The British Influence on Brazilian Football* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1998), 67-78.

^{vi} Jeffrey Needell, ‘Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires: Public Space and Public Consciousness in *Fin-de-Siècle* Latin America’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1995), 519-40.

^{vii} Matthew Brown, ed., *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).

^{viii} Raúl García Heras ‘Capitales extranjeros, poder político y transporte urbano de pasajeros: La Compañía de Tranvías Anglo Argentina Ltda de Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1930-1943’, *Desarrollo Económico*, 32, 125 (1992), 35-56; Roy Hora, *Historia del turf argentino* (Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 2014).

^{ix} Allen Guttman, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 165-75.

^x Paul Dietschy, 'Making Football Global? FIFA, Europe and the non-European Football World, 1912-1974', *Journal of Global History*, 8:2 (2013), 279-98; Matthew Taylor, 'The Global Ring? Boxing, Mobility and Transnational Networks in the Anglophone World, 1890-1914', *Journal of Global History*, 8:2 (2013), 231-55. For an extensive discussion of the approach see Matthew Brown, 'The global history of Latin America', *Journal of Global History*, 10, (2015), 365-86. The still overwhelmingly Anglophone and U.S.-centric nature of most sports history is illustrated in Amy Bass, 'State of the Field: Sports History and the "Cultural Turn"', *Journal of American History*, 101:1 (2014), 148-72.

^{xi} The historical maps used as the foundation level for each map are listed by the appropriate figure. All the maps have been made publically-available in digitised versions by the Arquivo Publico do Estado de São Paulo and can be found at http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/site/acervo/repositorio_digital/mapas, last accessed 4 December 2015.

^{xii} Julio Frydenberg, Rodrigo Daskal and Cesar R. Torres, 'Sports Clubs with Football in Argentina: Conflicts, Debates and Continuities', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30:14 (2013), 1670-86, 1671.

^{xiii} Frydenberg, et al, 'Sports Clubs with Football', 1673.

^{xiv} For example, Andreas Campomar, *¡Golazo! A history of Latin American football* (London: Quercus, 2014), 77.

^{xv} David Goldblatt, *Futebol Nation: A footballing history of Brazil* (London: Penguin, 2014), 4, 9; Martin Curi, ed., *Soccer in Brazil* (London: Routledge, 2014); Roger Kittleon, *The country of football: soccer and the making of modern Brazil* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014); Joshua Nadel, *Fútbol: Why Soccer is Important in Latin America* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2014); Dave Zirin, *Brazil's Dance with the Devil* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2014).

^{xvi} Gilberto Freyre, author's note to the second Brazilian edition, 1976, in *The English in Brazil: aspects of British influence on the life, landscape and culture of Brazil* (Oxford: Boulevard, 2011, translated by Christopher J. Tribe), p.13. See also José Miguel Wisnik, *Veneno remédio: O futebol e o Brasil [Poisoned Remedy: Football and Brazil]* (São Paulo, 2008).

^{xvii} Hamilton, *An Entirely Different Game*.

^{xviii} José Moraes dos Santos Neto, *Visão do jogo: primórdios do futebol no Brasil [A Vision of the Game: The Origins of Football in Brazil]* (São Paulo, 2002).

^{xix} Gilmar Mascarenhas, 'The adoption of soccer in southern Brazil: the influences of international boundaries immigrants', *Soccer and Society*, 15:1 (2014), 28-34.

^{xx} Kittleon, *The country of football*, 21-3; a good example is Arthur Friedenreich, studied in depth by Kittleon, *The country of football*, 26-30 and Martin Curi, 'Arthur Friedenreich (1862-1969): A Brazilian Biography', *Soccer and Society*, 15:1 (2014) 19-28. Neither mention that this Afro-Brazilian was also refereeing matches from an early stage, which is mentioned in *Correio Paulistano*, 13 May, 1914 and 1 August, 1914, cited in René Duarte Gonçalves Junior, 'Friedenreich e a reinvenção de São Paulo: o futebol e a vitória na fundação da metrópole' [*Friedenreich and the reinvention of São Paulo: football and victory in the foundation of the metropolis*], unpublished Masters thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2008, 23.

^{xxi} Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game: A History of British Football* (London: Routledge, 2013, first published 2008), 98.

^{xxii} Christopher Thomas Gaffney, *Temples of the Earthbound Gods: Stadiums in the Cultural Landscapes of Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 44.

^{xxiii} Gaffney, 'Mega-events and socio-spatial dynamics in Rio de Janeiro, 1919-2016', *Journal of Latin American Geography*, 9:1 (2010), 7-29.

^{xxiv} Cristina Peixoto-Mehrtens, *Urban space and national identity in early twentieth century São Paulo, Brazil: Crafting Modernity* (New York: Palgrave, 2010).

-
- ^{xxv} Maria Odila Silva Dias, *Power & Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 166.
- ^{xxvi} Flavio Villaca, *Espaco intra-urbano no Brasil [Inter-Urban Space in Brazil]* (São Paulo: FAPESP, 1998), 192-93.
- ^{xxvii} E.S. Paula 'A segunda fundacao de São Paulo', *Revista de Historia* (São Paulo, 1954), first printed 1939).
- ^{xxviii} Nestor Goulart dos Reis Filho, *São Paulo e Outras Cidades* (São Paulo: Hiteca, 1994).
- ^{xxix} The building remained the property of the Prado family until 1959, and from 1947-59 was used as the headquarters of the Iate Clube de Santos (ICS - Santos Yacht Club). In 2008 the building was reacquired by the ICS: <http://icsantos.com.br/o-clube/sedes/>, last accessed 4 December 2015.
- ^{xxx} On the history of the velodrome see Wilson Roberto Gambeta, 'A bola rolou: O Velódromo Paulista e os espetáculos de futebol, 1895-1916' ['The rolling ball: The Paulista Velodrome and football spectacles 1895-1916'], unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013, available online at <http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8138/tde-01102014-162931/en.php>, last accessed 4 December 2015, especially 71-77.
- ^{xxxi} N.G. Bonduki, 'Origens da habitacao social no Brasil' ['Origins of Social Housing in Brazil'], *Análise Social*, 39:127 (1994), pp.711-732; Raquel Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei: legislacao, politica urbana e territórios na cidade de São Paulo [The city and the law: legislation, urban policy and territories in the city of São Paulo]* (São Paulo, 1997).
- ^{xxxii} Carlos Augusto Niemeyer, *Parques infantis de São Paulo: lazer como expressão de cidadania [Playgrounds of São Paulo: doing citizenship]* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2002).
- ^{xxxiii} Gerald M. Greenfield, 'Patterns of Enterprise in São Paulo: Preliminary Analysis of a Late Nineteenth-Century City', *Social Science History*, 8:3 (1984), 291-312, 297, 306. Greenfield does not provide any translation of *jogos de bola* – our interpretation is that they were skittle alleys, rather than places for ball games played with the feet. Neither Gambeta, 'A bola rolou' nor Santos Neto, *Visão de jogo*, make reference to any formal footballing spaces outside of school grounds before the 1890s.
- ^{xxxiv} Lincoln Allison, 'Association Football and the Urban Ethos', in John d. Wirth and Robert L. Jones, eds., *Manchester and São Paulo: Problems of Rapid Urban Growth* (Stanford, CA: University of California Press, 1978), 203-27, 223.
- ^{xxxv} H. Frugoli Jr, *São Paulo: espacos publicos e interacao social* (São Paulo, 1995).
- ^{xxxvi} As demonstrated in the 1881 map produced by British engineer Henry Joyner, *Planta da cidade de Sao Paulo, levantada pela Companhia Cantareira e Esgotos [Plan of the city of São Paulo, drawn by the Companhia Cantareira e Esgotos]*, available online at http://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/site/acervo/repositorio_digital/mapas, last accessed 4 December 2015.
- ^{xxxvii} Fatima Martin Rodrigues Ferreira Antunes, 'The early days of football in Brazil: British influence and factory clubs in São Paulo', in Paulo Fontes and Bernardo Buarque de Hollanda, eds., *The Country of Football: Politics, Popular Culture and the Beautiful Game in Brazil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 17-40.
- ^{xxxviii} Hugo Segawa. *Preludio da Metropole: arquitetura e urbanismo em São Paulo [Before the metropolis: architecture and urbanismo in São Paulo]* (São Paulo: Atelie, 2000).
- ^{xxxix} Monica Silveira Brito, 'Modernizacao e tradicao: urbanizacao, propriedade da terra e credito hipotecario em São Paulo, na segunda metade do seculo XIX' ['Modernization and Tradition: Urbanization, land-ownership and lending in São Paulo in the second half of the nineteenth century'], unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 2007; Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei*, pp.20-5; Jose de Souza Martins, *O poder do atraso. Ensaio de sociologia da historia lenta [The power of delay: Essays of sociology, slow history]* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1999); Candido Malta Campos, *Os rumos da cidade: urbanismo e modernizacao em São Paulo [Paths of the city: urbanism and modernism in São Paulo]* (São Paulo: Senac, 2002).
- ^{xl} *Correio Paulistano*, 30 September, 1890; Rolnik, *A cidade e a lei*; Richard Morse, *From community to metropolis: a biography of Sao Paulo, Brazil* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1958).
- ^{xli} Brito, 'Modernizacao e tradicao', p. 107.

^{xlii} Niemeyer, *Parques infantis de São Paulo*, pp.50-1. A German *turnen* gymnastics club was founded in 1888; Mackenzie College played basketball from 1898; fencing was introduced to the *Escola de Armas do Esporte Clube Internacional* in 1899.

^{xliii} *Correio Paulistano* reports a cricket match between Englishmen from São Paulo (who were victorious) and from Rio de Janeiro, played in the Barrio da Luz, in its edition of 11 September, 1883.

^{xliv} The authoritative study of Charles Miller and SPAC is John R. Mills, *Charles William Miller 1894-1994: Memoriam S.P.A.C* [*Charles William Miller 1894-1994: In Memory of S.P.A.C*] (São Paulo: SPAC, 1994), here, see 38-40.

^{xlv} Information on SPAC players taken from Mills, *Charles William Miller*, 231-60. On the British migrants more generally, see H C Lowther, 'Account of an interview with Mr Oakenfull on Sao Paulo emigration', 18 December, 1905, The National Archives (TNA), FO 368/7/14, 68-70.

^{xlvi} Information in the table is based on survey of digitized version of *Correio Paulistano* available online at <http://memoria.bn.br/hdb/uf.aspx> (Fundação Biblioteca Nacional – Hemeroteca Digital).

The Liga Paulista de Football. *Guia de football*. (São Paulo: LPF, 1906) reproduced in Wilson Roberto Gambeta, ed., *Primeiros passes – Documentos para a História do Futebol em São Paulo* [*First passes: Documents for a Study of Football in São Paulo*] (São Paulo, 2015). On the translation see *Enciclopédia do Futebol Brasileiro Volume 1* [*Encyclopedia of Brazilian Football Volume 1*] (Rio de Janeiro, 2001), 35. For an editorial on the 'horrible Italianization of "football"' into 'futebol', see *Correio Paulistano*, 14 August, 1920.

^{xlvii} Maria Cecília Naclerio Homem, 'Antônio da Silva Prado, prefeito da cidade de São Paulo: 1899-1910' ['Antônio da Silva Prado, City Prefect of São Paulo'], in *IV Seminário de História da cidade e do urbanismo* (Campinas, 1998).

^{xlviii} Gerald Michael Greenfield, 'Dependency and the Urban Experience: São Paulo's Public Service Sector, 1885–1913', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 10 (1978), 37-59, 38.

^{xlix} Merthens, *Urban space and national identity*, 29.

ⁱ M.P. Abreu, 'British business in Brazil: maturity and demise (1850-1950)', *Revista Brasileira de Economia*, Rio de Janeiro, 54:4 (2000), 383-413; J. Fred Rippy, 'British Investments in Latin America, End of 1913', *Journal of Modern History*, 19:3 (1947), 226-34.

ⁱⁱ Greenfield, 'Dependency', 44-5.

ⁱⁱⁱ Sources for entrance fees charged in this period have been hard to find. For one example, see *Correio Paulistano*, 8 June, 1902. On 25 July, 1904 *Correio Paulistano* estimated that 'hundreds' of female spectators were part of the crowd at the Velodrome's football 'ground'.

ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Reis Filho, *São Paulo e outras cidades*, 101. Images at <http://acervo.estadao.com.br/noticias/acervo,como-era-sao-paulo-sem-parque-antartica,9339,0.htm>, last accessed 4 December 2015. *Correio Paulistano*, 12 June, 1903.

^{liv} Merthens, *Urban space and national identity*, chapter 5, 'Politics and urban change: building de Pacaembu stadium', 139-62; Holzmeister, 'A brief history of soccer stadiums in Brazil', 69-70.

^{lv} Naclerio Homem, 'Antônio da Silva Prado', 9.

^{lvi} Wlademar Correa Stiel, *História dos transportes coletivos em São Paulo*, (São Paulo: Editoria McGraw-Hill do Brasil, 1978), 127-148; also Naclerio Homem, 'Antônio da Silva Prado', 8-9.

^{lvii} On trams and the success of English football grounds in the same period, see the speculative comments in Taylor, *The Association Game*, 67.

^{lviii} 'Horario dos bonds que passam pelos diversos campos de football' ['Timetables of the trams that pass by football grounds'], in *Guia de Football*, 117-19.

^{lix} Joel Wolfe, *Autos and Progress* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 8.

^{lx} Wolfe, *Autos and Progress*, 16.

^{lxi} Streapco, “‘Cego é aquele que só vê a bola’”, 15.

^{lxiii} Hence the expression *futebol de varzea*, still in use, to designate the amateur, leisurely football played on weekends and the football played by the poor ‘groundless’ teams.

^{lxiii} Paoli, ‘Working-Class Sao Paulo’, 218.

^{lxiv} ‘Relatorio do Governo do Senhor Prefeito Antonio Silva Prado (1899-1910)’, cited in Joao Paula França Streapco, “‘Cego é aquele que só vê a bola’”. O futebol em São Paulo e a formação das principais equipes paulistas: S.C. Corinthians Paulista, S. E. Palmeiras e São Paulo F.C. (1894-1942)’ [‘First to the ball: Football in São Paulo and the formation of the first teams: Corinthians, Palmeiras and São Paulo F.C.’], Master’s Dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2010, 12-46, 16 (These rules did not detain the practice of football in ‘unlawful’ pitches and the Act was re-edited in 1923).

^{lxv} *Anuario commercial do Estado de S. Paulo [Commercial Annual for the State of São Paulo]* (São Paulo, 1904), 503-11, held in Bodleian Library, Oxford.

^{lxvi} On organized religion in the origins of British football, see Taylor, *The Association Game*, 35-8.

^{lxvii} See for example [Anon], *A Provincia de S. Paulo no Brazil. Emigrante. Lede este Folheto antes de partir [The Province of São Paulo in Brazil: Immigrant, read these pamphlet before leaving home]* (São Paulo, 1886), British Library 10481.66.45, 12.

^{lxviii} The president of Cia City was Lord Balfour of Burleigh, governor general of the Bank of Scotland and president of Sao Paulo Railway Co; the directors included Campos Salles (senator and Brazil’s ex-president), Cincinato Braga (lawyer and São Paulo federal deputy), Pierre Carteron (French ex-minister), Gaston de Cerjat, Harry-Ernest Cradock (Russian and English Bank), Edouard Fontaine de Laveleye, Herbert Guedalla (delegated director of Imperial and Foreign Co. Ltd.) Ralph Peto, Edouard Quellenec (Suez Canal engineer), Belfort Sabino (lawyer and landowner), Sir Gerard Smith (ex-governor of Western Australia, director of São Paulo Railway Co.) and Leslie R. Vigiers. Mehrtens, *Urban space and national identity*, 33.

^{lxix} Mervyn Miller, ‘Barry Parker (1867-1947), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004); Mervyn Miller, ‘Barry Parker, before and after Jardim America’, paper presented to 15th IPHS conference, Sao Paulo, 15-18 July, 2012, paper posted online at <http://www.fau.usp.br/15-iphs-conference-sao-paulo-2012/abstractsAndPapersFiles/Sessions/01/MILLER.pdf>, last accessed 5 December 2015, and personal communication from Mervyn Miller drawing on unpublished material relating to Barry Parker held in the Letchworth Garden City archive. We are very grateful to Dr Miller for allowing us to draw from his soon-to-be-published research here.

^{lxx} Villaca, *Espaco intra-urbano no Brasil*, 117.

^{lxxi} See the photos in *A Cigarra*, 6 (1914), 45, also the description in ‘Corinthian F.C. in Brazil’, *The Sportsman*, 26 September, 1910, cited in Streapco, “‘Cego é aquele que só vê a bola’”, 34.

^{lxxii} Wolfe, *Autos and progress*, 41.

^{lxxiii} For a cycling race organised on the roads between the cycling clubs of São Paulo and Sao Bernardo, hosted by the Grupo Sportivo Gladiadores [Sporting Gladiators Group], see *Correio Paulistano*, 12 July, 1898.

^{lxxiv} *Correio Paulistano*, 12 December, 1915; 13 September, 1915; Paul Adam, *Les visages du Brésil [Views of Brazil]* (Paris, 1914), accessed at gallica.bnf.fr.

^{lxxv} Mehrtens, *Urban space and national identity*, 23.

^{lxxvi} Greg Bocketti, ‘Italian Immigrants, Brazilian Football, and the Dilemma of National Identity’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 40:2 (2008), 283-88.

^{lxxvii} John Nisbet, managing director of Ipiranga Mill, 1949, in letter to Peter Cameron published in Cameron, *From Paisley to Paulo with Football: The Archie McLean Story* (Glasgow, 2007), 125.

^{lxxviii} Undated postcard, McLean to Steel, Sao Paulo, on display at National Football Museum, Hampden Park, Glasgow.

^{lxxix} Volumes of S.F.A. Cup Registrations for 1900-1912, held in archive of National Football Museum, Hampden Park, Glasgow. Those players who are listed in the São Paulo press as playing for Scottish Wanderers after 1912, and who also

appear in the Registers of Professional Footballers in Scotland before 1912, include: Archibald McLean, registered for Johnston FC and resident at 16 Alice Street, Paisley in March 1912; John Clark, registered for Paisley Academicals and resident at 10 Strand, Beith in September, 1912. The J. & P. Coats archive is held at Glasgow University Library special collections. Its sources on the Scottish Wanderers are limited, but include a 1908 letter on the subject of not allowing Archibald McLean to 'leave off work on certain Saturdays'. The subscriber explained that 'in the past we have been in the habit of occasionally granting special leave to members of the Paisley Clubs who happened to be in our employment, to play important matches or International games, but we cannot extend this practice outside the town'. Emphasis from the original). Letter addressed to Mr. G. H. Murray, 118 Prestwick Road, 15 September, 1908, J. & P. Coats archive.

^{lxxx} *Correio Paulistano*, 1 June, 1914; *Correio Paulistano*, 8 June, 1914.

^{lxxxi} *A Notícia*, 17 April, 1916 and *A Notícia*, 26 April, 1916. *A Notícia*, 23 May, 1916 mentions the expulsion McLean, Hopkins and a third player, Antonio Dias from the Paulista League. On oral histories surrounding Archie McLean see Cameron, *From Paisley to Paulo with Football*.

^{lxxxii} Allegations collected in the autobiography of the footballer Floriano Peixoto Correia, *Grandezas e misérias do nosso futebol [Greatness and Misery in Our Football]* (Rio de Janeiro: Flores & Mano, 1933), held at <http://www.literaturanaarquibancada.com/2012/03/grandezas-e-miserias-do-futebol.html>, last accessed 4 December 2015.

^{lxxxiii} Most of the Scottish Wanderers remained in São Paulo and are buried in the Cemitério dos protestantes [Protestant Cemetery], São Paulo. It also contains graves of SPAC footballers Charles James Holland (1879-1937), William Holland, Charles Miller (1874-1953), William Gordon Speers (1875-1941), Arthur Wrigg (1868-1911), visited May 2014.

^{lxxxiv} Historians have yet to understand the conflicts over rent and ground ownership that shaped this period of inter-club rivalry: this paragraph draws on the first attempt to map them, Streapco, "Cego é aquele que só vê a bola", 18-20.

^{lxxxv} Maria Celia Paoli, 'Working-Class Sao Paulo and Its Representations, 1900-1940', *Latin American Perspectives*, 14:2 (1987), 204-225, p.205; Greenfield, 'Dependency', 41-42.

^{lxxxvi} Ignácio L. Brandão, *Club Athletico Paulistano: corpo e alma de um clube centenário [Club Athletico Paulistano: body and soul of a centennial club]* (São Paulo: CAP, 2000); personal communication from Mervyn Miller, 3 March, 2015; Zueleide Casagrande de Paula, 'Jardim América: de projeto urbano a monumento patrimonial (1915-1986)' ['Jardim América: from na urban Project to patrimonial monument'], unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidade Estadual Paulista, 2005, 115.

^{lxxxvii} Streapco, "Cego é aquele que só vê a bola", 23-4

^{lxxxviii} Mills, *Charles William Miller 1894-1994*; see also archive of the São Paulo Athletic Club, consulted with kind permission of the directors of the Club in May 2014.

^{lxxxix} Paoli, 'Working-Class Sao Paulo', p.206; Wolfe, 'Anarchist Ideology, Worker Practice', 809-846; Christina Lopreato, *O espírito da revolta: a greve anarquista de 1917 [The spirit of the revolt: the anarchist strike of 1917]* (São Paulo: FAPESP, 2000), 34-39.

^{xc} *Correio Paulistano*, 15 July, 1917.

^{xci} Liane Maria Bertucci-Martins, "Conselhos ao povo": educação contra a influenza de 1918' ['Advice for the poor: educating against influenza, 1918'], *Cad. CEDES*, 23:59 (2003), 103-18.

^{xcii} Duarte Concalves Jr, *Friedenreich e a reinvenção de São Paulo*.

^{xciii} Levine, 'Soccer and Society', 233.

^{xciv} John Bale, *Sport, Space and the City* (Caldwell, NJ: Blackburn Press, 2001, first printed 1993), 15.

^{xcv} Bale, *Sport, space and the city*, 18; Antonio Holzmeister, 'A brief history of soccer stadiums in Brazil', *Soccer and Society*, 15:1 (2014), 64-79, 71.

^{xcvi} Needell, 'Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires', 535, 538; Coroliano Pereira da Rocha Junior and Fernando Reis do Espírito Santo, 'Entre 1899 e 1920: Dados iniciais da história do futebol em Salvador' ['Initial Research Findings on the Origins of Football in Salvador 1899-1920'], in Diego Armus and Stefan Rinke, eds., *Del football al fútbol/ futebol: historias argentinas, brasileiras y uruguayas en el siglo XX* [*On Football: Argentinian, Brazilian and Uruguayan Histories in the Twentieth Century*] (Berlin: Vervuert, 2014), 15-28, 18.

^{xcvii} Goldblatt, *Futebol Nation*; Kittleson, *The country of football*.

^{xcviii} Peter Fleming, *Brazilian Adventure: a quest into the heart of the Amazon* (London: Tauris Parke, 2011, first published by Jonathan Cape, 1933), 71.